

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE NATURE OF 26

CIVIL LIBERTY,

AND THE PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT,

FROM

*Dr. PRICE's much esteemed and popular ESSAY**Published Anno 1776.*

WITH THE

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, AND

REGULATIONS OF THE

FRIENDS OF LIBERTY,

UNITED FOR PROMOTING

CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION,

THE ONLY MEANS BY WHICH A REDUCTION OF TAXES,

AND THE ENORMOUS PRICE OF PROVISIONS

CAN BE OBTAINED; OR UNJUST AND

UNNECESSARY WARS

PREVENTED.

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PRICE TWO-PENCE.

ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

Friends and Fellow Citizens.

We have Resolved at the first out-set of our Political Career, fully to explain the Principles upon which we have determined to Associate and Unite; in order that our Friends may never be at a loss to delineate our real Disigns, and to prevent if possible our Enemies from loading us with Misrepresentation; and also to Evince to the impartial World the Purity of our Intentions, which are truly the universal Happiness of Mankind, and as we are convinced that the Works of Dr. Price are deservedly in the greatest estimation, We have therefore Unanimously agreed to Preface our Declaration and Regulations with the first part of his Dissertation on Civil Liberty, which is as follows, and for which the Corporation of London honoured him with the Freedom of the City in a Gold-box.

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

SECT. I. *Of the Nature of Liberty in General.*

IN order to obtain a more distinct and accurate view of the nature of Liberty as such, it will be useful to consider it under the four following general divisions.

First, *Physical Liberty*.——Secondly, *Moral Liberty*.——Thirdly, *Religious Liberty*.——And Fourthly, *Civil Liberty*.——These heads comprehend under them all the different kinds of Liberty. And I have placed *Civil Liberty* last, because I mean to apply to it all I shall say of the other kinds of Liberty.

By **PHYSICAL LIBERTY** I mean, that principle of *Spontaneity*, or *Self-determination*, which constitutes us *Agents*; or which gives us a command over our actions, rendering them properly *ours*, and not effects of the operation of any foreign cause.——**MORAL LIBERTY** is the power of following, in all circumstances, our sense of right and wrong; or of acting in conformity to our reflecting and moral principles, without being controuled by any contrary principles.——**RELIGIOUS LIBERTY** signifies the power of exercising, without molestation, that mode of religion which we think best; or of making the decisions of our own consciences, respecting religious truth, the rule of our conduct, and not any of the decisions of others.——In like manner; **CIVIL LIBERTY** is the power of a *Civil Society* or *State* to govern itself by its own discretion, or by laws of its own making, without being subject to any foreign discretion, or to the impositions of any extraneous will or power.

It should be observed, that, according to these definitions of the different kinds of liberty, there is one general idea, that runs through them all; I mean, the idea of *Self-direction*, or *Self-government*.——Did our volitions originate not with *ourselves*, but with some cause over which we have no power; or were we under a necessity of always following some will different from our own, we should want **PHYSICAL LIBERTY**.

In like manner; he whose perceptions of moral obligation are controuled by his passions has lost his *Moral Liberty*: and the most common language applied to him is, that he wants *Self-government*.

He, likewise who, in religion, cannot govern himself by his convictions of religious duty, but is obliged to receive formularies of faith, and to practise modes of worship imposed upon him by others, wants *Religious Liberty*.——And the Community also that is governed, not by itself, but by some will independent of it, and over which it has no controul, wants *Civil Liberty*.

In all these cases there is a force which stands opposed to the agent's *own* will; and which, as far as it operates, produces *Servitude*.——In the *first* case this force is incompatible with the very idea of voluntary motion; and the subject of it is a mere passive instrument which never *acts*, but is always *acted upon*.——In the *second* case; this force is the influence of passion getting the better of reason; or the *brute* overpowering and conquering the will of the *man*.——In the *third* case; it is *Human Authority* in religion requiring conformity to particular modes of faith and worship and superseding *private judgment*.——And in the last case, it is any will distinct from that of the Majority of a Community, which claims a power of making laws for it, and disposing of its property.

This it is, I think, that marks the limit, or that lays the line between *Liberty* and *Slavery*. As far as, in any instance, the operation of any cause comes in to restrain the power of Self-government, so far *Slavery* is introduced: Nor do I think that a preciser idea than this of *Liberty* and *Slavery* can be formed.

I cannot help wishing I could here fix my reader's attention, and engage him to consider carefully the dignity of that blessing to which we give the name of *LIBERTY*, according to the representation now made of it. There is not a word in the whole compass of language which expresses so much of what is important and excellent. It is, in every view of it, a blessing truly sacred and invaluable. — Without *Physical Liberty*, man would be a machine acted upon by mechanical springs, having no principle of motion in himself, or command over events; and, therefore, incapable of all merit and demerit. — Without *Moral Liberty* he is a wicked and detestable being, subject to the tyranny of base lusts, and the sport of every vile appetite. — And without *Religious* and *Civil Liberty* he is a poor and abject animal, without rights, without property and without a conscience, bending his neck to the yoke, and crouching to the will of every silly creature who has the insolence to pretend to authority over him. — Nothing, therefore, can be of so much consequence to us as *Liberty*. It is the foundation of all honour, and the chief privilege and glory of our natures.

In fixing our ideas on the subject of *Liberty*, it is of particular use to take such an enlarged view of it as I have now given. But the immediate object of the present enquiry being *Civil Liberty*, I will confine to it all the subsequent observation.

SECT. II. *Of Civil Liberty and the Principles of Government.*

FROM what has been said it is obvious, that all civil government, as far as it can be denominated *free*, is the creature of the people. It originates with them. It is conducted under their direction; and has in view nothing but their happiness. All its different forms are no more than so many different modes in which they chuse to direct their affairs, and to secure the quiet enjoyment of their rights. — In every free state every man is his own Legislator. — All *taxes* are free-gifts for public services. — All *laws* are particular provisions or regulations established by COMMON CONSENT for gaining protection and safety. — And all *Magistrates* are Trustees or Deputies for carrying these regulations into execution.

Liberty, therefore, is too imperfectly defined when it is said to be "a Government by LAWS, and not by MEN." If the Laws are made by one man, or a junto of men in a state, and not by COMMON CONSENT, a government by them does not differ from *Slavery*. In this case it would be a contradiction in terms to say that the state governs itself.

From hence it is obvious that *Civil Liberty*, in its most perfect degree, can be enjoyed only in small states, where every member is capable of giving his suffrage in person, and of being chosen into public offices.

When a state becomes so numerous, or when the different parts of it are removed to such distances from one another, as to render this impracticable, a diminution of *Liberty* necessarily arises. There are, however, in these circumstances, methods by which such near approaches may be made to perfect *Liberty* as shall answer all the purposes of government, and at the same time secure every right of human nature.

Tho' all the members of a state should not be capable of giving their suffrages on public measures *individually* and *Personally*, they may do this

by the appointment of *Substitutes* or *Representatives*. They may entrust the powers of legislation, subject to such restrictions as they shall think necessary, with any number of *Delegates*; and whatever can be done by such delegates within the limits of their trust, may be considered as done by the united voice and counsel of the Community.——In this method a free government may be established in the largest state; and it is conceivable that by regulations of this kind, any number of states might be subjected to a scheme of government, that would exclude the desolations of war, and produce universal peace and order.

Let us think here of what may be practicable in this way with respect to *Europe* in particular.——While it continues divided, as it is at present, into a great number of independent kingdoms whose interests are continually clashing, it is impossible but that disputes will often arise which must end in war and carnage. It would be no remedy to this evil to make one of these states supreme over the rest; and to give it an absolute plenitude of power to superintend and controul them. This would be to subject all the states to the arbitrary discretion of one, and to establish an ignominious slavery not possible to be long endured. It would, therefore, be a remedy worse than the disease; nor is it possible it should be approved by any mind that has not lost every idea of Civil Liberty. On the contrary.——Let every state, with respect to all its internal concerns, be continued independent of all the rest; and let a general confederacy be formed by the appointment of a *SENATE* consisting of Representatives from all the different states. Let this *SENATE* possess the power of managing all the common concerns of the united states, and of judging and deciding between them, as a common *Arbiter* or *Umpire*, in all disputes; having, at the same time, under its direction, the common force of the states to support its decisions.——In these circumstances, each separate state would be secure against the interference of foreign power in its private concerns; and, therefore, would possess *Liberty*; and at the same time it would be secure against all oppression and insult from every neighbouring state.——Thus might the scattered force and abilities of a whole continent be gathered into one point; all litigations settled as they rose; universal peace preserved; and nation prevented from any more lifting up a sword against nation.

I have observed, that tho', in a great state, all the individuals that compose it cannot be admitted to an immediate participation in the powers of legislation and government, yet they may participate in these powers by a delegation of them to a body of representatives.——In this case it is evident that the state will be still *free* or *self governed*; and that it will be more or less so in proportion as it is more or less fairly and adequately represented. If the persons to whom the trust of government is committed hold their places for short terms; if they are chosen by the unbiassed voices of a majority of the state, and subject to their instructions: Liberty will be enjoyed in its highest degree. But if they are chosen for long terms by a part only of the state; and if during that term they are subject to no controul from their constituents; the very idea of Liberty will be lost, and the power of choosing representatives becomes nothing but a power, lodged in a few, to choose at certain periods, a body of *masters* for themselves and for the rest of the Community. And if a state is so sunk that the majority of its representatives are elected by a handful of the meanest (a)

a In Great Britain, consisting of near six millions of inhabitants, 5723 persons most of them the lowest of the people, elect one half of the House of Commons; and 364 votes chuse a ninth part. This may be seen distinctly made out in the Political Disquisitions, Vol. I. Book 2. C. 4. a work full of important and useful instruction.

persons in it, whose votes are always paid for; and if also, there is a higher will on which even these mock representatives themselves depend, and that directs their voices; In these circumstances, it will be an abuse of language to say that the state possesses Liberty. Private men, indeed, might be allowed the exercise of Liberty; as they might also under the most despotic government; but it would be an *indulgence* or *connivance* derived from the spirit of the times, or from an accidental mildness in the administration. And, rather than be governed in such a manner, it would perhaps be better to be governed by the will of one man without any representation: For a representation so degenerated could answer no other end than to mislead and deceive, by disguising slavery, and keeping up a *form* of Liberty when the *reality* was lost.

Within the limits now mentioned, Liberty may be enjoyed in every possible degree; from that which is complete and perfect, to that which is merely nominal; according as the people have more or less of a share in government, and of a controuling power over the persons by whom it is administered.

In general to be *free* is to be guided by one's own will; and to be guided by the will of another is the characteristic of *Servitude*. This is particularly applicable to Political Liberty. That state, I have observed, is *free*, which is guided by its own will; or, (which comes to the same) by the will of an assembly of representatives appointed by itself and accountable to itself. And every state that is not so governed; or in which a body of men representing the people make not an essential part of the Legislature, is in *slavery*.——In order to form the most perfect constitution of government, there may be the best reasons for joining to such a body of representatives, an *Hereditary Council*, consisting of men of the first rank in the state, with a *Supreme executive Magistrate* at the head of all. This will form useful checks in a legislature; and contribute to give it vigour, union, and dispatch, without infringing liberty: for, as long as that part of a government which represents the people is a *fair representation*; and also has a negative on all public measures, together with the sole power of imposing taxes and originating supplies; the essentials of Liberty will be preserved.——We make it our boast in this country, that this is our own constitution. I will not say with how much reason.

Of such Liberty as I have now described, it is impossible that there should be an excess. Government is an institution for the benefit of the people governed, which they have power to model as they please; and to say, that they can have too much of this power, is to say, that there ought to be a power in the state superior to that which gives it being, and from which all jurisdiction in it is derived.——Licentiousness, which has been commonly mentioned, as an extreme of liberty, is indeed its opposite. It is government by the will of rapacious individuals, in opposition to the will of the community, made known and declared in the laws. A free state, at the same time that it is free itself, makes all its members free by excluding licentiousness, and guarding their persons and property and good name against insult. It is the end of all just government, at the same time that it secures the liberty of the public against *foreign* injury, to secure the liberty of the individual against *private* injury. I do not, therefore, think it strictly just to say, that it belongs to the nature of government to entrench on private liberty. It ought never to do this, except as far as the exercise of private liberty encroaches on the liberties of others. That is, it is licentiousness it restrains, and liberty itself only when used to destroy liberty.

It appears from hence, that licentiousness and despotism are more nearly allied than is commonly imagined. They are both alike inconsistent with liberty, and the true end of government; nor is there any other difference between them, than that the one is the licentiousness of *great* men, and the other the licentiousness of *little* men; or that, by the one the persons and property of a people are subject to outrage and invasion from a King, or a lawless body of *Grandeess*; and that, by the other, they are subject to the like outrage from a *lawless mob*—— In avoiding one of these evils, mankind have often run into the other. But all well-constituted governments guard equally against both. Indeed of the two, the last is, on several accounts, the least to be dreaded, and has done the least mischief. It may be truly said, that if licentiousness has destroyed its thousands, despotism has destroyed its millions. The former having little power, and no system to support it, necessarily finds its own remedy; and a people soon get out of the tumult and anarchy attending it. But a despotism, wearing the form of government, and being armed with its force, is an evil not to be conquered without dreadful struggles. It goes on from age to age, debasing the human faculties, levelling all distinctions, and preying on the rights and blessings of society.——It deserves to be added, that in a state disturbed by licentiousness, there is an animation which is favourable to the human mind, and which puts it upon exerting its powers. But in a state habituated to a despotism; all is still and torpid. A dark and savage tyranny stifles every effort of genius; and the mind loses all its spirit and dignity.

Before I proceed to what I have farther in view, I will observe, that the account now given of the principles of public Liberty, and the nature of an equal and free government, shews what judgment we should form of that OMNIPOTENCE, which, it has been said, must belong to every government as such. Great stress has been laid on this, but most unreasonably.——Government, as has been before observed, is, in the very nature of it, a TRUST; and all its powers a DELEGATION for gaining particular ends. This *trust* may be mis-applied and abused. It may be employed to defeat the very ends for which it was instituted; and to subvert the very rights which it ought to protect.——A PARLIAMENT, for instance, consisting of a body of representatives, chosen for a limited period, to make laws, and to grant money for public services, would forfeit its authority by making itself perpetual, or even prolonging its own duration; by nominating its own members; by accepting bribes; or subjecting itself to any foreign influence. This would convert a *Parliament* into a *conclave* or *junto* of self-created tools; and a state that has lost its regard to its own rights, so far as to submit to such a breach of trust in its rulers, is enslaved.——Nothing, therefore, can be more absurd than the doctrine which some have taught, with respect to the omnipotence of parliaments. They possess no power beyond the limits of the trust for the execution of which they were formed. If they contradict this trust, they betray their constituents, and dissolve themselves. All delegated power must be subordinate and limited.——If omnipotence can, with any sense, be ascribed to a legislature, it must be lodged where all legislative authority originates; that, is, in the PEOPLE. For *their* sakes government is instituted; and *their's* is the only real omnipotence.

I am sensible, that all I have been saying would be very absurd, were the opinions just which some have maintained concerning the origin of government. According to these opinions, government is not the creature of the people, or the result of a convention between them and their rulers:

But

But there are certain men who possess in themselves, independently of the will of the people, a right of governing them; which they derive from the Deity. This doctrine has been abundantly refuted by many (a) excellent writers. It is a doctrine which avowedly subverts Civil Liberty; and which represents mankind as a body of vassals; formed to descend like cattle from one set of owners to another; who have an absolute dominion over them. It is a wonder, that those who view their species in a light so humiliating, should ever be able to think of themselves without regret and shame. The intention of these observations is not to oppose such sentiments; but, taking for granted the reasonableness of Civil Liberty, to shew wherein it consists, and what distinguishes it from its contrary. — And, in considering this subject, as it has been now treated, it is unavoidable to reflect on the excellency of a free government; and its tendency to exalt the nature of man. — Every member of a free state, having his property secure, and knowing himself his own governor, possesses a consciousness of dignity in himself, and feels incitements to emulation and improvement, to which the miserable slaves of arbitrary power must be utter strangers. In such a state all the springs of action have room to operate, and the mind is stimulated to the noblest exertions (b). — But to be obliged, from our birth, to look up to a creature no better than ourselves as the master of our fortunes; and to receive his will as our law — What can be more humiliating; What elevated ideas can enter a mind in such a situation? — Agreeable to this remark; the subjects of free states have, in all ages, been most distinguished for genius and knowledge. Liberty is the soil where the arts and sciences have flourished; and the more free a state has been, the more have the powers of the human mind been drawn forth into action; and the greater number of brave men has it produced. With what lustre do the antient free states of Greece shine in the annals of the world? How different is that country now, under the Great Turk? The difference between a country inhabited by men, and by brutes, is not greater.

These are reflexions which should be constantly present to every mind in this country. — As *Moral Liberty* is the prime blessing of man in his *private* capacity, so is *Civil Liberty* in his *public* capacity. There is nothing that requires more to be watched than power. There is nothing that ought to be opposed with a more determined resolution than its encroachments. Sleep in a state, as *Montesquieu* says, is always followed by slavery.

The people of this kingdom were once warmed by such sentiments as these; Many a sycophant of power have they sacrificed. Often have they fought and bled in the cause of Liberty. But that time seems to be going. The fair inheritance of Liberty left us by our ancestors many of us are not unwilling to resign. An abandoned venality, the inseparable companion of dissipation and extravagance, has poisoned the springs of public virtue among us: And should any events ever arise that should render the same opposition necessary that took place in the times of King *Charles the First*, and *James the Second*, I am afraid all that is valuable to us would be lost. The terror of the standing army, the danger of the public funds, and the all-corrupting influence of the treasury, would deaden all zeal, and produce general acquiescence and servility.

(a) See among others Mr. Locke on government, and Dr. Priestley's Essay, on the first Principles of government.

(b) See Dr. Priestley on government, page 68, 69, &c.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

K NOWING that those who prey upon the vitals of our country, derive the principal part of their success in opposing an equal representation; from the active circulation of falsehoods, respecting this and similar institutions; it appears advisable to preface our regulations with the following explicit declaration of principles:

1. That all men are by nature free, equal, and independent of each other.

2. That to enjoy all the advantages of civil society, individuals need not relinquish any more of their natural independence, than is necessary to preserve the weak against the oppressions of the strong, and to enable the whole body to act with union, and concert for the procuration of the general good, and the resistance of common enemies.

3. That all government abstractedly considered, being itself an evil, and no fatter to be approved in practice, than as it may tend to prevent other evils of a more serious nature, the experiment in every country ought to be, not how much the people will bear, but with how little the grand object of general happiness can be secured.

4. That all public burthens (whether of taxation or personal service) ought to be impartially levied upon the whole body of the people, according to the capability of the respective individuals; without the exclusive protection of particular privileges on the one hand, or the interference of violence (as in the case of impressing seamen and soldiers) exercised against a particular class, on the other.

5. That every additional burthen or assessment being an abridgement of the enjoyments of the people, and inevitably productive of much calamity to a great majority; no such burthen or assessment ought ever to be levied for any purposes of ambition and aggrandisement (from which a few individuals only can receive any benefit); but for such objects of necessity or utility alone, as may tend to secure the peace, prosperity, and happiness of the whole.

6. That the civil rights of every individual are,

1. Equality of protection for his liberty, life, and property, and the means of obtaining the redress of injuries.

2. Equality in the exercise and enjoyments of such bodily and mental faculties as nature may have conferred upon him.

3. Equality of encouragement for the exercise of his talents, and consequently the free enjoyment of the advantages thereby obtained.

4. Freedom to publish his opinion, and to exercise his religious worship without molestation, restriction, or civil impediment.

5. And

5. And lastly, the unrestrained exercise of his own private judgement in every action that does not trespass upon the equal rights of his fellow citizens.

7. That the best methods of securing these rights, yet invented by the ingenuity of man appear to be—

1st. By giving an equality of voice to every member of the community who is of adult years, and not incapacitated by crimes or insanity, in the choice of representatives delegated to make laws, and watch over the public happiness and security; and their returning to the great mass of the people, after as short a period as possible.

2dly. By rendering every officer and magistrate entrusted with any power or authority, responsible to the great body of the people, for the faithful discharge of the trusts delegated for the public advantage.

The total departure from the principle of equality in the election of the legislative body, commonly called the Common's House of Parliament, and the length of time for which they hold their seats; appear to this society, the chief causes why the people of Britain are deprived of the benefit of the foregoing principles; and it is therefore that we have associated, and that we call upon our countrymen to associate also, that we may the better correct and strengthen each others opinions, on the subject of liberty, and eventually abate the tools of corrupt influence and lawless power: effects which are not to be expected from the vague and desultory exertions of individual opinions,

REGULATIONS, &c.

IT being resolved by us, the members of this society, to unite ourselves into one firm and permanent body, for the purpose of disseminating political knowledge, and by that means obtaining a peaceful, but radical reform, in the Common's House of Parliament—and for corresponding and co-operating with other societies, united for the same objects—the following Regulations for the internal government and order of our society have been unanimously adopted.

First—That every person, before he is admitted, shall be proposed by one member.

Second—The Secretary shall enter the proposed member's name and residence, together with the proposer's name, in the book kept for that purpose; and the President shall put the following questions to the Proposer,—

Are you acquainted with the person you propose?

Are you of opinion that his general character is such as will not be disgraceful to this society?

Third—The President shall demand of the section, whether any member has any objection to the person proposed.

Fourth—

Fourth—The President shall request the person proposed to stand up, be uncovered, and answer in the affirmative to the three following questions.

Question 1. Are you convinced that the Parliamentary Representation of this Country is, at present, inadequate and imperfect?

Question 2. Are you thoroughly persuaded that the welfare of these kingdoms requires, that every person of adult years, in possession of his reason, and not incapacitated by crimes, should have a vote for a Member of Parliament, and not more than one vote; and that the elections should be annual?

Question 3. Will you, endeavor by all legal means, to promote such reformation in Parliament?

Fifth—Every person so admitted, shall receive a ticket, indorsed with his name, number, and the time to which his contribution is paid, which payment shall be four-pence per month, or one shilling per quarter; to be renewed within one month after quarter day, or his name will be erased from the books; sickness excepted.

The following address shall be then made by the President to the new member or members:

CITIZEN,

“ We congratulate you as a member of this society:
 “ Remember that they expect from you obedience to its laws; and as
 “ they meet regularly every week, they desire that you will meet with
 “ them as often as your particular situations and engagements will per-
 “ mit; and as a Reform in Parliament, and the dissemination of know-
 “ ledge, are the objects we have in view; and as these require an active
 “ mind, therefore we request of you, that you will endeavour to acquire,
 “ and diffuse, all the knowledge in your power; and we further request
 “ of you, that you make use of no expressions nor actions but such as are
 “ strictly constitutional.

Sixth—The society shall be divided regularly into sections, each to consist of twenty members; nor shall they branch off into a new section till they amount to thirty-five. Two or more sections may meet together if they choose; in which case the President shall be alternately chosen out of each.

Seventh—The sections shall meet any night, Thursday excepted; they shall elect a President, who shall continue in office one month.—He shall observe that no speaker deviate from the question; nor speak more than twice to one subject, except to explain or retract.—He shall take care that no interruptions be permitted—shall put all questions to the vote, and report the numbers faithfully.

Eighth—Each section shall elect a Representative, who shall attend as a general committee every Thursday evening, and report the business of his constituents, take down their proceedings, and report the same to his section.—On all questions which may occur in the committee, each of them shall vote according to the instruction of his constituents.—On any question which has not been discussed by his section, he may vote according to his own judgment, for the interest of the society.—If

he

he cannot attend the representation, he shall give notice as early as possible to the Sub-representative, who shall in that case have full power to act.

Ninth—There shall be three persons, at least, nominated to serve as Representatives; they shall be chosen by ballot; he who shall have the greatest number of votes shall be Representative; and the next greatest, Sub-representative. The election to be on the meeting-night immediately preceding quarter-day—the other officers to be chosen by shew of hands. N. B. No person shall be eligible to serve as Representative, unless he has been a member three months.

Tenth—There shall be a Chief Secretary and Treasurer, both of whom shall be appointed by the General Committee the first meeting-night after every quarter day, who shall continue in office three months misconduct excepted.

Eleventh—Each section shall appoint one man out of every ten to inform the members of his tithing, (of which he shall be furnished with a list,) where and when the section meets; and any member absenting himself four weeks, the tithing-man shall call on him, and inquire his reasons for his absence, and if required shall state them to the section: upon occasion they shall endeavour to furnish, or provide a place of meeting.

Twelfth—The society shall occasionally publish such tracts, as may promote political information. Before any expence is incurred, the General Committee shall inquire what cash the Treasurer has in hand.

Thirteenth—Each section shall elect a secretary, who shall remain in office one quarter.—He shall keep the books of the section, and receive the quarterly payment, subscriptions, &c.—He shall settle with the representative every night of meeting, and the representative shall settle with the Treasurer every monthly meeting.—The Treasurer shall give a receipt specifying the quantity, and the representative shall deliver it to the Chairman, who shall read it openly to the section.

Fourteenth—The Regulations shall be subject to revision every six months.

*** It is particularly recommended to every member, that the person he intends to introduce be well acquainted with the principles and object of the society before he proposes him.

FINIS.